1: Clinger E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche 5445

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1839-47, 3: 330), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 635-638, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Figueira, 1838, 1: 69; Moré, [1850], 1889, p. 350), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41-42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanacos and the rhea (pl. 46, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 46, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1880, pp. 362-364, 366, and Outes, 1909 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 56). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanacos, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Skinned stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 284). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 289). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanacos was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 110; Bourne, 1888, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

Artificial receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41, and text-fig. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 429, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 [282] Tehuelche §67

Pottery.—The early Tehuelche used very simple and crude pottery (Figueira, 1888, 1: 80), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in Tehuelche territory (present volume, p. 89; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 134–135); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 178) reported pottery absent from the Tehuelche of his day.

Miscellaneous.—The Tehuelche did excellent bone grinding and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Musters, 1917, p. 234; Bourne, 1893, p. 97, cf. 96).

Skin dressing.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, g) are hafted by hafting the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. Hunter, Outes and Bruch, 1918, p. 331) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scraping. In sewing, an awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On Tehuelche skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1932; Bourne, 1893, pp. 96–99; Guinnard, 1894, pp. 49–50; Hemsley, 1894, p. 773; Hatcher, 1903, p. 268. One most detailed account is Koessler, 1895, pp. 209–210, for "Pampas" Indians apparently of Rio Negro, probably including Tehuelche; he records disbarring with salaa.)

Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1899, p. 19; Gardiner and Hunt, 1855, p. 69; Bourne, 1893, p. 92), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 19th century (Martens Lalvador, 1899, p. 73). A small hand-adz was used in wood-working (fig. 19, f; cf. Mantero, 1871, pp. 169, 170).

Weapons.—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early Tehuelche was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Maxwell, 1855, p. 54; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 67), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, i, j, k), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 183–184.

Fire making.—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1899, p. 20) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1894, p. 288) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant Ona influence (cf. supra).

Lista, 1879 b, p. 9; Borough, 1904, p. 79; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 387.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of *Schinus Dependens* was thought for health purposes (Hudson, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pittaluga, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco humors were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 108; King, 1839, 1: 117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from Quichua.

[illegible]

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Pampa* culture are derived from Diego Flores de Lete (1580), Gerónimo Flores (1646), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Valenzuela (1698), and Menendez (de Furoh, 1899). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Lenhossék, 1929-30, 64: 289-302).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de Leon and Flores, make no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 311) stated that the *Pampa* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (de Furoh, 1899, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Pampa*] of Leon Bulnes-Isnapi in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de Leon, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1580, p. 200)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 311; Valenzuela, 1698, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 313), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (Ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
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[175] the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta [342] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, [203] covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were [412] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking [224] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their [302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they [415] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are [534] fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women.

The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'manèos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They

136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are

252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-

281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bring-

576 ing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

meal with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

These painful thoughts were interrupted by an order to prepare for the night's repose. An old skin, about two and a half feet square, was thrown upon the cold ground in the back part of our rookery, and assigned for my couch; I took possession accordingly, and the whole family bestowed themselves in a row near me. The stifling atmosphere was soon vocal with their snoring. My brain was too busy for sleep. Feverish fancies kept me wakeful. I revolved a variety of plans for escape. Could I steal out of the hut unperceived? Could I find my way to the shore? I doubted the first, and more than doubted the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous bowling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are